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604 to his house if he were not there, it would be considered an insult to the *pasu-*'s wife though he calls her by the same term as his own son's wife, to whom he would go freely.

A man owes certain duties to his *tsoa-*, the chief of which was, in the olden days, to assist him in fighting. He must provide the greater part of the food for his *tsoa-* in old age.

In the case of a female the *tsoa- : pasu-* relationship seems to count for less than with a male, perhaps because there is no question of succession. No specially interesting incidents illustrating the relation between a girl and her mother's brother came under my notice, other than the very exceptional case of rape discussed on p. 77.

4. *Kiar* (term used reciprocally).

601 To understand many of the terms in this relationship system it is essential to bear in mind the way in which the use of the words *kiar* and *wevnē-* differs from our use of the words 'brother' and 'sister'. Whereas our usage depends upon the sex of the person spoken of, the Melanesian usage depends upon the sex of the speaker. That is to say, while we use 'brother' or 'sister' according to whether the sibling to whom we refer is male or female, the Melanesian uses *kiar* if he is referring to a sibling of the same sex as himself, and *wevnē-* in referring to a sibling of the opposite sex. It follows that *kiar* is applied by a man to his brother and by a woman to her sister, while *wevnē-* is applied by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother. No distinction is made according to whether the speaker is older or younger than the person spoken of.

601 By extension the term *kiar* is used between parallel cousins of the same sex, i.e. by the children of two brothers or of two sisters.
593 No special designation is used between 'ortho-cousins', i.e. cousins
● 605 in the line in which descent is reckoned, in this case the children of two sisters. But, in practice, the relationship between such is closer than that between the children of two brothers, and unless great precision is used in investigating the facts, the distinction between ortho-cousins and blood brothers and sisters is very easy to overlook; it appears frequently to be ignored, if not actually lost sight of, by the individuals concerned.

593 This is a very close and friendly relationship. A person's *kiar*
605 is the first to whom he turns for help in any enterprise, and is the

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only relative whose property, such as coco-nuts or areca-nut, he may requisition if necessary. Two women who are *kiar* will work together and will look after each other's children. If one dies, the other will take her sister's baby and suckle it, if she is in a position to do so. They are very often both married to the same man, but there is, so far as my knowledge goes, less friction between them than between co-wives who are unrelated. It is not uncommon for two brothers to marry two sisters, and to build huts next door to one another.

Kiar may be used as a term of address, and so far as I know there is no alternative vocative form.

One of the women of Kurtatchi adopted me as her *kiar*, on her own initiative. She never failed to respond to any request I made of her, and would let me have a supply of taro even when she had not too large a store for herself. In return she considered herself entitled to ask me for tobacco once in a while, a concession I never permitted to others, but she did not abuse the privilege. I used sometimes to work in her taro garden, which pleased her very much, being the proper thing for a *kiar* to do.

5. *Wevnē-* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used only between people of opposite sexes, in accordance with the rule discussed in the preceding note. It is applied, primarily, by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother, and also to parallel cousins, i.e. the children of the mother's sister and of the father's brother, provided they are of the opposite sex to the speaker, that is to say, to the children (of the appropriate sex) of any person the parents call *kiar*. While both are little the relation between *wevnē-* is very similar to that between *kiar*. If the girl be the elder, she looks after her little brother, pets him, and carries him about. Little boys are usually immensely pleased with their baby sisters. Several whom I knew well were always dragging me off to admire their little sisters and to see what they could do.

Withdrawal of intimacy begins abruptly when the boy is sent to the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*. As long as he wears it his contact with his sister is reduced to a minimum, since he is strictly debarred from all but the most distant necessary converse with girls and women. After he has finished the *upi* ceremonies this prohibition is removed, but though there is no actual

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601 7. *Tauwē-* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used only between persons of the same sex. It is connected with the use of the term *wevnē-* in exactly the same manner as the use of *wagun* is connected with that of *kiar*. It is applied by a man to the husband of any woman he calls *wevnē-*, and to any man his wife calls *wevnē-*. A woman uses it of the wife of any one she calls *wevnē-*, and of any one her husband calls *wevnē-*. That is to say, it applies between 'in-laws' of the same generation and the same sex.

607 There is no taboo on personal contact or on eating in each other's presence. The only restriction attaching to the *tauwē-* relationship is that individuals thus related cannot call each other by name. They do not even use a substitute name, but say the relationship term. This restriction ceases automatically when the first child of either union is born, no ceremonial procedure being necessary.

The term implies a certain intimacy as between equals, and in fact persons so related are often good friends and go about or work together. As so often in the course of field work, my attention was first drawn to this aspect of the relationship by an exception to the general rule. Pinari, a *tsunaun* of great importance, married as one of his wives Kwimau, the full sister of Bwapip, a commoner. In discussing relationship terms with Bwapip in connexion with his genealogy, he told me that before this marriage took place Pinari used to call him by his name, but since then he has called him *tauwenē*. But Bwapip, although entitled to call Pinari *tauwenē* also, said he felt ashamed to do so, and as he could no longer use his name, he always called him by his official government title of 'kukerai'. This clue led me to study the behaviour to each other of various other people standing in the *tauwē-* relationship, with the result that the frequency of the existence of friendly co-operation became evident. It is not in any way prescribed, but may be compared with the business and social partnerships which not infrequently obtain in our own society between brothers-in-law and between sisters-in-law.

8. *Pi'an* (term used reciprocally).

605 This term is used by a person of either sex for any of his cross-cousins, i.e. for the children, whether male or female, of his mother's brother (and for those of any other man to which he

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applies the same relationship term *tsoa-*) and to the children of his father's sister, although he applies to this woman the term *tʃina-* ('mother'). It is also applied to the children of any woman in the ascending generation who stands to the individual in the relationship called *watʃitʃio* (see no. 9).

This is a taboo relationship. Persons calling each other *pi'an* must not touch each other's hair, must not use paint out of the same dish for painting hair, face, or body, and must not sleep on each other's bed even if unoccupied. The touching of the hair in particular is to be avoided. For this reason, while a person may take a cigarette or a pipe from between the lips of his *pi'an*, he may not take it from the hole in his ear-lobe (a frequent method of carrying such things), or from behind his ear. If these taboos are broken it is thought that a skin disease will break out upon the offender. But *pi'an* may use each other's less personal possessions, such as fishing nets.

If taro is cooked in the house, or a feast made for any member of it, his *pi'an* may not eat any. This rule deprived two small children, Gav and Gaua, of all share in the much-desired taro-and-coco-nut pudding that was made on the many ceremonial occasions observed for Wanias, who is their mother's father's sister's daughter's son.

This taboo never comes to an end. It carries with it a prohibition of marriage, which is not, however, absolutely inviolable, at least, a case came to my notice in which it was broken although under protest. Both families involved in the marriage were *tsimaun*, and such families appear to have, or to allocate to themselves, the right to break customary rules with a degree of impunity denied to commoners. Rusu, wife of Pinari, very much wished her daughters, Pesē and Marotē, to marry two brothers who, though they belonged to another village, stood to the girls in the relation of *pi'an*, their mother being Pinari's cross-cousin, and Pinari therefore their *tsoa-*. The mother of the prospective bridegrooms was against the match, and said to her sons: 'I don't think you ought to marry back your *pi'an*.' But she was overruled, and the marriage took place. In this case one breach of rule was expiated by another breach of the same rule, for these two marriages were compensated for by a union (also arranged by Rusu) between her son Wasē and his *pi'an* Takon, 'sister' (actually ortho-cousin) of the men in question (see Fig. 4). In discussing this question when it arose during the taking of their genealogies,

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605 582 565 Togen and Matarē told me that their marriages were not really in order, but that they agreed because they were afraid of offending Pinari. In spite of this inauspicious beginning, both marriages seem to be turning out reasonably well.

9. *Watʃitʃio* (term used reciprocally).

601 This term is applied by a woman to the children of her cross-cousins on either side of the house, that is to say, the offspring of her mother's brother's children or of her father's sister's children, and by them to her. It will be seen that the reciprocal term applies to people belonging to an upper and a lower generation, and that while the lower generation can be either male or female, in the upper generation the term applies to females only.

604 582 684 This is a taboo relationship. The woman of the elder generation may not hold such a child in her arms when it is small, and she must not touch it when it is grown up. She must never eat in its presence. This relationship carries with it a very strong taboo against marriage, which is somewhat striking in view of the fact that two persons standing to each other in this relationship are always of different clans, as will be apparent from the table of kinship terms. I was informed more than once that in the olden days the penalty for extra-marital intercourse between *watʃitʃio*, if discovered, was death for both. Members of the woman's lineage would kill the woman, and members of the man's lineage [266] would kill the man. The woman was then eaten by the man's lineage-group and the man by the woman's, no retaliation following on either side. At the present time, they say, all that would happen is that the couple would be banished from the village.

601 604 582 The term *watʃitʃio* is also used reciprocally between a woman and the child of her husband's sister (i.e. her husband's *wevnē*-). By extension, it also applies to the child of any other individual who stands to her husband in the relationship of *wevnē*-. But this does not carry with it so strong a prohibition against marriage, which, though irregular, is not impossible. Tahol, married to Tsigot, took as her lover Wasē, son of Rusu, Tsigot's *wevnē*- (actually his ortho-cousin). After this affair had twice resulted in pregnancy, Tsigot divorced Tahol, and Wasē married her. In telling me about this all the individuals concerned laid stress on the fact that she was not Wasē's *watʃitʃio tsūn* ('real' or 'true' *watʃitʃio*) or the marriage would never have been countenanced.

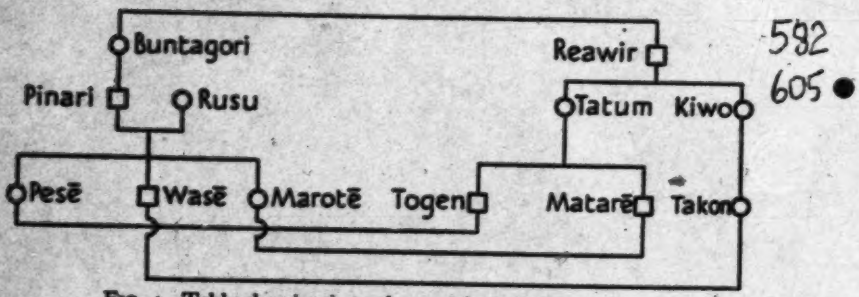

FIG. 4. Table showing irregular marriages between *pi'an*.
Only relevant details shown.

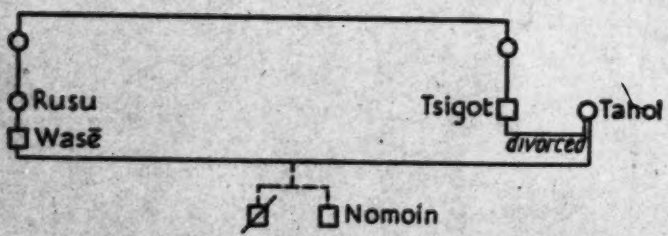

FIG. 5. Table showing irregular marriage between *watʃitʃio*.
Only relevant details shown.

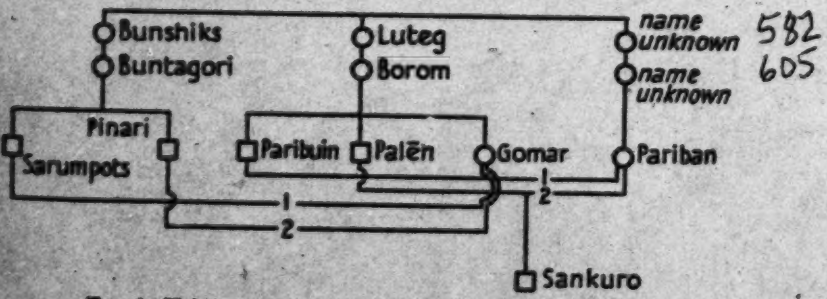

FIG. 6. Table showing irregular marriages between *wɔvnē-*.
Only relevant details shown.

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